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### THE ORIGINS OF LEADERSHIP. III

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Before concluding this discussion of the Australians, we may note briefly the part played by leadership in educational, religious, and health interests.

The early education of the child in Australia is by the mother and other women of the group. Then, with the advent of the adolescent period, the youth passes out from under the direct influence of the women and through the initiation ceremonies comes under the more direct control of the men and of the wider tribal influences. In some tribes these ceremonies are begun at the age of ten or eleven, and continue until the age of twenty-five or even thirty. While they vary much in detail from tribe to tribe, the general purpose which they serve is practically the same in all tribes. Very careful and complete discussions of these ceremonies have been given by Mathews, Howitt, Spencer, and Gillen, and all agree that their purpose is to confer upon "the youth of the tribe the privileges, duties, and obligations of manhood," to bring the young men under the control of the old men, to teach them habits of self-restraint and hardihood, and the customs, traditions, secrets, and moral laws of the tribe. "In addition to all this, there is even a quasi-religious element which tends to strengthen very greatly the effect which the ceremonies are likely to have upon the minds of the youth." The initiative in regard to the ceremonies is taken by the headman and his council of old men. They make all preparations for the ceremonies, and appoint the leader and guardians. The leader is usually an old man who has an almost perfect knowledge of the traditions, and each youth has a guardian, an old man, who is his instructor in the ceremonies. Absolute obedience is demanded of the youth in every respect. Mutilations, magic, and pantomimic performances are among the means used to secure control

over the youth. These ceremonies are the beginnings of educational institutions. They bring together all the members not only of one tribe, but sometimes of several tribes. Meetings are held day and night for several weeks or even months, as in the case of the Engwura, which continues for four months. The traditions are repeated and discussed by the old men and taught to the young men. With relation to leadership and customs or institutions, then, these ceremonies serve two general purposes: the first and chief purpose is, through the wisdom and authority of the old men to teach and maintain the customs and traditions; secondly, great meetings like these, with their discussions, serve as mediums by which changes may be introduced and disseminated throughout the tribes, though this second function is more rarely performed than the first, owing to the strong conservatism of the natives.

Sickness and death are crises which become centers of leadership in Australia as elsewhere, and those who can cure disease or locate the enemy who has caused it hold a position of considerable influence in the tribe. The natives have implicit faith in them, and in cases of serious illness the services of two or three may be obtained. As a rule, they are men, but there are also doctors among the women. The principal function of the medicine-man is to cure disease, but, since all cases of illness are attributed to the malevolent influences of some enemy, either in human or in spirit form, there is a tendency in almost all the tribes for the medicine-man's functions to be extended to the discovery of this cause through magic or sorcery. And, in addition to this, in some tribes he may also assume the rôle of causing harm, disease, or death to an enemy, either individual or groupal. In some tribes the medicine-men are quite clearly differentiated from those who have the power of communicating with the spirits, the latter not being medicine-men at all. In the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes the personal influence exercised by the medicine-men shows the beginnings of institutionalization. There are three distinct schools in which those intending to become practitioners are initiated and given instruction.

The Australians believe in good and bad spirits which

influence their social life, but they seem to have no conception of a Supreme Being with well-defined attributes, and there is very little, if anything, that can be called institutional religion, most authorities concurring in the statement that there is no worship, prayer, or sacrifice. In some of the tribes the ideas concerning the spirits are very misty, and they are not much feared and do not exercise much influence; but in the more highly developed tribes the spirits are more real and are believed to have considerable power. The spirits are ancestral, at least in some cases, but there is no ancestor-worship. In addition to the medicine-men, there are other men, whose titles vary in the different groups, who are believed to have the power of seeing and communicating with the spirits, and who are for this reason held in considerable respect. Through the spirits it is believed that they gain important information in regard to the welfare of the tribe, such as the proper time for the performance of the rain and food ceremonies, or information as to the movements of enemies. But the religious leadership is not so far advanced as the political, and has received practically no institutional recognition. Certainly, there is nothing more than the mere beginnings of the priesthood and the church organization of civilized countries, even in the most highly developed groups.

This rather long description of the societary life of the Australians has been necessary to get a setting for the study of the evolution of leadership and institutions. It has been seen that the part played in the most primitive societies by the leader, the innovator, the subjectively conscious individual, is comparatively small. So far as innovations are concerned, the leader has a still smaller influence; adherence to custom is very strong, and leadership is confined largely to the maintenance of customs and traditions. Authority, nowhere very great, is limited largely to the elders. The communal phase of the social process is in the ascendancy, and the group, not the individual, is the unit. In the marriage relationship, it is not the group in the form of a household, as among the Aryans, described by Hearn, nor that of Maine, based upon the patriarchal family, but a group founded upon a still more primitive form of the family and marriage relations.

The individual family, as found in modern civilization, has no existence at this stage. One of the greatest difficulties in understanding their marriage systems as well as many other of their societary relations, and a primary cause of the diversity of opinions in regard to them, can be ascribed to the prominence of the groupal aspect of their interactions.

To understand the native, it is simply essential to lay aside all ideas of relationship as counted amongst ourselves. They have no word equivalent to our English words "father," "mother," "brother," etc. A man, for example, will call his actual mother *Mia*, but, at the same time, he will apply the term not only to other grown women, but to a little girl child, provided they all belong to the same group.<sup>56</sup>

There is no contract between the parties entering upon the matrimonial relationship. Marriage is through allotment or prescription by the old men or headmen, in so far as the choice of anybody enters into the relationship, but it is rather determined by custom, the parties being born into certain very inflexible relations to each other, to which in the allotment even the elders must conform, and which were instituted by the great ancestors, the Oknirabata. While in marriage among civilized peoples custom determines the relationships within certain limits, still customs are more plastic, and there is a large sphere for the voluntary activity of the individuals most directly concerned. Not only in the marriage relations, but in the expression of every interest among the native Australians, the group is the unit; "the whole gens is the individual;"<sup>57</sup> personality or consciousness of self, as we know it, has not developed. Not that there is no self-consciousness, but rather that we find it here at the minimum. There is nothing to give it a clear expression. Consciousness of self or personality is the result of the part played by the individual in the social process, of his voluntary activity in meeting problematic conditions, and of the reactions of his associates in approval or disapproval of his activity. Consequently, where societary relations are determined largely by instinct, custom, and communal forces, and where rights and responsibilities belong

<sup>56</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *loc. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>57</sup> Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 170.

to the group or but a few in the group, and that in a very limited degree, there can be no general or high degree of development of personality. Food among the native Australians is obtained and distributed according to groupal regulations, and property is communal, with the exception of a few movable articles. In general, it may be said that property does not have any influence in conferring honor or leadership on the individual in any of the pre-matriarchal, matriarchal, or patriarchal groups hitherto considered in this investigation. The absence of property removes one of the strongest influences in the development of leadership, personality, and institutions. This groupal principle is also manifested in the political organization. The emergence of the individual from the group and the growth of the personal element of control, as contrasted with control by custom and communal forces, can probably be observed first in the political functions, as the earliest development seems to have taken place there. Of necessity, the problems of the political phase of societary life have occupied first place in the attention of the group, and enthusiastic approval of the successful activities of superior individuals in guiding the group through these difficulties has tended to make the political leader stand out from the group most prominently, and to create in him the consciousness of power, together with the desire to perpetuate it through the establishment of the principle of inheritance of rank, wealth, etc. Generalizing from a large amount of evidence from many groups in different parts of Australia, it may be said that leadership is determined almost invariably by purely personal qualities of the type developed in the hunting life, ownership of property, the principle of inheritance, and other aids found in more highly developed societies, having but little influence. The one essential quality apparently is old age, the leadership of the young occurring but rarely. However, for anything more than nominal headship, to age must be added superior ability as hunters, fighters, rain-makers, wizards, medicine-men, orators, or exceptional knowledge of the customs and traditions of the group. Control by the aged is doubtless partly due to the lack of any intense stimuli, such as wars, which call for great activity and endurance. The leadership of the old men also adds to the

conservatism of the people, who, contrary to the usual theories still prevailing concerning primitive peoples, are the slaves of custom, any changes from the regulations of the ancestors being made only with the greatest difficulty. But, while leadership must be acquired by the demonstration of ability, skill, experience, etc., almost everywhere the individual authority of the headmen is meager and indefinite, and has received but little institutional recognition. Both the chief and the council are rather representatives of the collective phase of the social process than initiators and inventors and agitators. Neither the chief nor the council has very much direct control over the societary relations. The headman of a horde or totem in some of the better-organized groups sometimes succeeds to the position by inheritance, but nowhere is the principle firmly established. Moreover, even in these cases it is usually the groupal influence and not the individual that predominates. The heir to the position must be a member of a certain group, and he is not necessarily the son of the headman or his sister's son. Within this group the position is hereditary. Another factor which shows the dominance of the groupal principle is found in crime and its punishment. The whole group is considered the offender and is punished for the crime of one of its members; or, if it is an individual that is punished, it is not necessary that it should be the guilty individual, but any member of the group will answer. On the other hand, it is the duty of the whole group to revenge the injury to any of its members by another group. From this evidence of the strength of custom and of groupal regulations among the Australians, and of the small amount of personal control or voluntary activity of the individual in determining social ends, with the resulting meager development of the subjectively conscious individual, it is still easier to understand our difficulty in apprehending the true status of the more primitive peoples. In modern society there is a much greater development of personality, and it is far more general, because of what may be called the individualizing of the individual through giving to him larger rights and responsibilities, and a wider sphere for voluntary activity in the expression of all his interests, wherein he must meet many of the prob-

lems and crises of life himself and decide upon the course to be pursued. We are, therefore, constantly inclined to read into the life of the more primitive peoples a much higher consciousness of self than has been attained by them, and this error is greatly exaggerated by the tendency to speak of the ideal independence of primitive man and his freedom from restraint; while, as a matter of fact, the greater the control by instinct and custom, the less is there of freedom; for freedom is the result of the opportunity for individual choice and innovation within a wide range of societary activities, and of the larger and more assured control of societary conditions resulting therefrom.

At this stage of human association there are no castes or classes, no kings or nobles, no landlords or villains or serfs or slaves; there are no monarchies or despotisms, and, contrary to the usual assumption, there are no democracies. It is true that authority is very limited, but democracy is more than the absence of the despot—it means that every individual of the tribe or nation has come to consciousness of his own dignity and worth; it means that each individual plays an important part in the social process, that he exercises a wide degree of initiative and has definite rights and responsibilities; and, furthermore, it means that he is not only conscious of his right to an equality of opportunity with every other member of his tribe or nation, but that this right finds a genuine expression in his societary activities. But such a concept cannot exist before the emergence of personality and its expression in institutional life. The consciousness of self has a phylogenetic as well as an ontogenetic development. It is a social product, and is very closely related to the function of leadership. Without any leaders with clearly recognized and well-defined powers, there can be no basis for a clear concept of personality, for a definite consciousness of self or of other selves; and without a large and well-recognized sphere of voluntary activity for each individual, there can be no development of the subjective personality in all members of the group.

*Leadership among the native hunting tribes of America.*—The situation in America in regard to leadership and social organization among the native groups presents many points of simi-



larity as well as dissimilarity to that of Australia. In the first place, both of the races have been carefully studied by the ethnologists, and the data relating to them are fairly reliable. Another principal feature of similarity between the two races is the long-continued freedom from foreign influence. The absence of the disturbing influences of foreign peoples makes a comparison with the Australians as to the influence of other social stimuli much simpler and more valuable. Still another elementary factor of similarity is found in the division of the tribe into two exogamous intermarrying groups with their totemic divisions. The word *totem* is Indian in origin, and it was among these peoples that this feature of social organization was first carefully studied. The unit in American social organization is the totemic group, and not the family or individual.

But the differences between the American race and the Australian are also such as to make the comparison very valuable for this investigation. Better food resources and, in North America, a more temperate climate, supply the conditions for a higher type of associate activity. Accordingly, the mental ability of the Indians, in general, is superior to that of the Australians, and they also possess a more equable temperament, manifesting a better regulation of the emotions and greater self-control. In Australia, as has been seen, we have to deal with a predominatingly hunting type of life. While the animal food secured by the men was supplemented by the collection of vegetable food by the women, yet there was little or no cultivation of the soil. On the other hand, in America there are not only typical hunting groups, but also hunting and agricultural occupations are frequently found in the same tribe, and in several important instances agriculture predominated; so that it is possible to compare the influence of the two kinds of occupations upon the same race as well as the influence of the same occupation upon different races. Moreover, America presented several different stages of social organization, ranging from the lowest savagery to the advanced societies in Mexico and Peru; and it should be possible to gain some insight into the causes of these differences.

The influence of environment and occupations is well exempli-

fied in the fact that the same stock, Uto-Aztecan, under the discipline of different environments and occupations displayed both the lowest and the highest stages of organization found in America; while four independent stocks, known as the Moqui, Kera, Tehua, and Zúñi families, under the influence of the same environment and occupations developed substantially the same culture.

An attempt has been made to include in this section only those tribes of Indians in which hunting or fishing is the dominant occupation.

The northern groups of the Athapascan family are hunters and have a very primitive organization. Descent is usually in the female line, and marriage among the most inferior tribes is temporary. Governmental institutions are practically unknown; there are no laws; the chieftainship is acquired through ability in the chase or daring in war, or generosity, but the chief has but little authority or power, and the position is not a hereditary one. The food of the Chepewyans, the most inferior of this family, consists mostly of fish and reindeer, the latter being easily taken in snares. Land is held in common, and food is shared according to the communal principle. This branch of the family believes that it has descended from a dog, and "their religion consists chiefly in songs and speeches to birds and beasts, and to imaginary beings for assistance in performing cures of the sick."<sup>58</sup> It is evident that where associate activity is of such a simple sort as this there can be but little development of personality or institutions. There are but the beginnings of leadership, even in the expression of the political interests, and the lack of any clear consciousness of self is reflected in their religion.

In the hunting tribes of the central part of North America leadership depended almost solely upon personal qualities, such as eloquence, wisdom, hospitality, tact, courage, and prowess. The leaders were those who manifested superior ability in the chase or in war. As these groups were more warlike than the Australians, ability in warfare counted for more in conferring leadership than in the latter race. War, as has been seen, is one

<sup>58</sup> Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. I, pp. 118-20.

of the most prominent forms of what we have called the hunting type of activity, using the phrase in a broad sense. Since these are the only tribes among the hunting peoples that we have hitherto considered in which war occupies a conspicuous place, they should afford a valuable means of determining the influence of war upon the social organization of hunting peoples. The principal occupations of the Algonquins were hunting and warfare. Each gens had a chief, and the tribe had a permanent peace-chief, and a war-chief. The authority of the peace-chief was limited to the general affairs of the tribe. The war-chief "wielded only the influence that he could secure by his personal prowess and his tact."<sup>59</sup> The chiefs of the Blackfeet, a tribe in which war

absorbs all other considerations, . . . as a general rule, are elective, though great respect is paid to hereditary chiefs. They have little or no power, unless they have distinguished themselves as warriors and are supported by a band of braves.<sup>60</sup>

Of the Siouan Indians, most of whom were hunters, McGee says:

All the best-known tribes had reached that plane of organization characterized by descent in the male line, though many vestiges and some relatively unimportant examples of descent in the female line have been discovered. . . . The government was autocratic, largely by military leaders, sometimes (particularly in peace) advised by the elders and priests; the leadership was determined primarily by ability, prowess in war and the chase, and wisdom in the council. Leadership was thus hereditary only a little further than characteristics were inherited; indeed, excepting slight recognition of the divinity that doth hedge about a king, the leaders were practically self-chosen, arising gradually to the level determined by their abilities. The germ of theocracy was fairly developed, and apparently burgeoned vigorously during each period of peace, only to be checked and withered during the ensuing war, when the shamans and their craft were forced into the background.<sup>61</sup>

The fact that women do not possess as much authority as in some groups which are more peaceable is probably due to the warlike

<sup>59</sup> Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, Vol. I, pp. 82, 90.

<sup>60</sup> Schoolcraft, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Part V, p. 686.

<sup>61</sup> McGee, "The Siouan Indians," *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 187, 188.

character of these tribes. Among the Assiniboin "women are never acknowledged as chiefs, nor have they anything to say in council."<sup>62</sup> Among the Omahas, who formerly depended mainly upon hunting, "civil and religious government are scarcely differentiated, but military government is almost entirely so," and the powers of both head-chiefs and subordinate chiefs are comparatively well defined. The tendency of the leader or chief to attempt to extend his influence through the establishment of hereditary rank is well illustrated by the Omahas, of whom Dorsey says: "While the chieftainship is not hereditary, each chief tries to have one of his near kinsmen elected as his successor."<sup>63</sup>

While among most of the Athapaskan, Lower Californian, and northern Mexican tribes there is little if any advance in social organization over that in Australia, the hunting groups of both the Algonquin and Siouan families manifest a distinct superiority over the Australians both in the development of authoritative personages and in institutional life. The groups are larger than those of Australia, and the organization is more coherent; the prerogatives and duties of the leaders are more clearly recognized and defined. Better food conditions, and the fact that some of the tribes in these two families are more sedentary and agricultural, account for part of this difference. Moreover, the fact that they are more warlike than the Australians increases the complexity of their social activity and calls for greater authority, with a tendency to a stronger influence of the personal element of control as contrasted with the control of custom. This is also evidenced in the fact that the old men do not possess such exclusive authority among these tribes of Indians as among the Australians, their influence being confined largely to advice in times of peace, as already noted by McGee. Of the Assiniboin Dorsey says: "Age, debility, or any other natural defect, or incapacity to act, advise, or command, would lead a chief to resign in favor of a younger man."<sup>64</sup> The prevalence of militant activity in

<sup>62</sup> Dorsey, "Siouan Sociology," *ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>63</sup> "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 356, 357.

<sup>64</sup> "Siouan Sociology," *loc. cit.*, p. 224.

these tribes requires greater energy and endurance, and calls for the leadership of younger men. This also results in a higher development of personal control, as well as the beginnings of military institutions.

The most notable exception to the dependence of leadership upon purely personal qualities among hunting and fishing peoples is found among the northwest-coast Indians of North America. Here the possession of property was one of the chief factors in the acquisition of honor and leadership. Wealth had a very great influence upon all their social relations, and in this we find the principal differentiating factor between these tribes and the other hunting peoples. While in the Australian tribes wealth rarely, if ever, makes the leader, in these tribes it is one of the principal factors in conferring rank and leadership. Ability in other respects than that of control over property is also recognized, such as in war, directing ceremonies and food expeditions. This difference was due primarily to the abundant food supply, making possible larger and more permanent groups than are usually found among hunting peoples. The greater food resources and larger population led to a considerable division of labor and to the accumulation of a comparatively large amount of property. In addition to fishing and hunting, trade and commerce constituted important elements in their economic activity, and among some of the tribes—e. g., the Tlinkits—there were professional wood-carvers, smiths, and silver-smiths. The kinds of property which determined rank and leadership among them consisted of implements, blankets, canoes, wives, slaves, etc., property in land being communal as among all hunting and fishing peoples. In some of the tribes the large and well-made canoes are owned by a few individuals, who thus become capitalists and increase their wealth through controlling the labor of others. The accumulation of property beyond the means of subsistence is chiefly for the purpose of acquiring influence and a reputation for generosity through distribution of presents at their feasts, which are their principal forms of amusement. Ownership of slaves prevails throughout these tribes. They are obtained by war or kidnapping, and add much to the social esteem bestowed upon their owner. Among

the Sound Indians "for a master to kill half a dozen slaves is no wrong or cruelty; it only tends to illustrate the owner's noble disposition in so freely sacrificing his property."<sup>65</sup> Distinctions of rank are rigidly observed in all their social relations and depend chiefly upon wealth. Among the Nootkas the feasts are given by the chiefs and richer classes

nearly every evening during the "season." As in countries more civilized, the common people go early to secure the best seats, their allotted place being near the door. The élite come later, after being repeatedly sent for; on arrival they are announced by name, and assigned a place according to rank. In one corner of the hall the fish and whale blubber are boiled by the wives of the chiefs, who serve it to the guests in pieces larger or smaller according to their rank.<sup>66</sup>

Even the burial of the dead is regulated by class distinctions; "the common people are usually left on the surface; the nobility are suspended from trees at heights differing, as some authorities say, according to rank."<sup>67</sup> The influence of wealth and of militant activity gave rise to the four classes found in most of the tribes; viz., chiefs, aristocracy, common people, and slaves.

The researches of Bancroft, Krause, and Boas indicate that the class organization founded upon the totemic relation prevailed among these tribes as in Australia. Among the Tlinkits the two primary exogamous classes are the Wolf and the Raven, and each of these classes contains five totemic divisions. With certain variations, these totems are found in all of the thirteen tribes of the Tlinkits.<sup>68</sup> Descent in the female line apparently is the rule, though there are important exceptions in which it has broken down. The influence of wealth upon the marriage relation is very powerful, marriage by purchase being quite common, the women having no choice. Polygyny is frequently found among the chiefs and more wealthy classes, but monogamy seems to be the prevailing form of marriage among the poorer classes.

They resemble the Australians also in that they are not a very warlike people. Though conflicts among some of the tribes are frequent, they are more of the nature of quarrels than wars, being

<sup>65</sup> Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. I, p. 217.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 112.

of short duration and not very destructive of life. Bancroft says of the Chinooks that they "were always a commercial rather than a warlike people, and are excelled by none in their shrewdness at bargaining." However, leadership is sometimes dependent upon ability in war, and in this they resemble the hunting tribes of the central part of North America.

Chieftainship exhibits several different stages of development. Among the Koniagias

authority is exercised by heads of households, but chiefs may, by superior ability, acquire much influence. Before they became broken up and demoralized by contact with civilization, there was a marked division of communities into castes, and hereditary nobility and commonality. In the former was embodied all authority, but the rule of American chieftains is nowhere of a very arbitrary character.<sup>69</sup>

Among the Aleuts,

every island and, in the larger islands, every village has its *toyon* or chief, who decides differences, is exempt from work, is allowed a servant to row his boat, but in other respects possesses no power. The office is elective.<sup>70</sup>

The warmer and more genial climate of the Tlinkits aided in producing a more complex type of social activity and organization than has been reached among the tribes farther north.

The chieftainship depends upon wealth, and especially the possession of a large number of slaves. As a rule, the chieftainship as well as property is hereditary in the female line, but there are exceptions in which, instead of the recognition of the hereditary principle, the chief is chosen in disregard of it. At almost every place there are several chiefs, called *amkau*, one of whom is usually recognized as superior. The power of the chief is very much restricted, and varies greatly in accordance with the strength of the personality of the chief. He is leader only of the common undertakings and of the councils. In the other activities the heads of families are free to do whatever does not conflict with custom and tradition or injure the rights of others.<sup>71</sup>

Among the Haidahs

rank is nominally hereditary, for the most part by the female line, but really depends to a great extent on wealth and ability in war. Females often possess the right of chieftainship.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>71</sup> Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, p. 122.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>72</sup> Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, p. 167.

### Among the Sound Indians

there is a nominal chief in each tribe, who sometimes acquires great influence and privileges by his wealth or personal prowess, but he has no authority, and only directs the movements of his band in warlike incursions. I find no evidence of hereditary rank or caste, except as wealth is sometimes inherited.<sup>73</sup>

Among the Nootkas "the head chief's rank is hereditary by the male line," and this constitutes an important illustration of the breaking-down of the principle of female descent through the influence of political leadership. The grandeur of the head-chief is

displayed on great occasions, when, decked in all his finery, he is the central figure. At the frequently recurring feasts of state he occupies the seat of honor; presides at all councils of the tribe, and is respected and highly honored by all; but has no real authority over any but his slaves. Between the chief or king and the people is a nobility, in number about one-fourth of the whole tribe, composed of several grades, the highest being partially hereditary, but also, as are all the lower grades, obtainable by feats of valor or great liberality. All chieftains must be confirmed by the tribe and some of them appointed by the king; each man's rank is clearly defined in the tribe, and corresponding privileges strictly insisted on. There are chiefs who have full authority in warlike expeditions.<sup>74</sup>

These examples of political leadership help to give further insight into the growth of institutions about the personality of the leader. As has been noted, the new factor introduced into this process in these tribes is the influence of wealth, though it will be seen from the evidence that superior ability in various social functions is also an important factor. In fact, the possession of wealth at this stage of societary development, when the hereditary principle as applied to property has not become firmly established, depends almost entirely upon exceptional personal qualities. In some of these tribes institutionalization of the privileges and responsibilities obtained by the superior individuals has proceeded a little farther than in the tribes hitherto considered. This is notably the case with regard to the appearance of a nobility in several of the tribes.

While, as has been seen, all forms of rank and leadership

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.



depend largely upon wealth, there are some interesting examples of the establishment of classes and securing of leadership through ability in the more difficult aspects of the hunting type of activity that should be given in this connection. This is exemplified, in particular, in the capture of whales. "In the tribes of the Aleuts whale-fishing is confined to certain families, and the spirit of the craft descends from father to son."<sup>75</sup> Among the Nootkas whales "are attacked in canoes by the chief and a select few from each tribe who alone have the right to hunt this monarch of the sea."<sup>76</sup> Among the Makah only a few "attain the dignity of whalers, a second class devote themselves to halibut, and a third to salmon and inferior fish, the occupations being kept distinct, at least in a great measure."<sup>77</sup> In general it may be said that "the common business of fishing for ordinary sustenance is carried on by slaves or the lower class of people; while the more noble occupation of killing the whale and hunting the sea-otter is followed by none but chiefs and warriors."<sup>78</sup> From these illustrations we find that here, as among all hunting tribes, the rank which the individual has in the group depends almost entirely upon the function which he performs, and that he is aided but little by the structural phase of society as found in institutions.

The medicine-man or *shaman* has a high rank among these tribes, and the people have implicit confidence in his ability to cause or cure disease. In some tribes the shamans possess considerable knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs and of the use of bandages, splints, etc., and in certain cases their treatment is very efficacious, as, e. g., where the cause of the difficulty is clear, such as cuts, bruises, sprains, snake-bites, and broken limbs. But when the illness becomes very serious or mysterious, resort to magic is the rule, and, apparently, the most important part of their vocation consists in dealing with the spirits or supernatural powers that are believed to cause these more baffling forms of disease. If the patient is wealthy, the treatment is elaborate and noisy, but if he is poor, little attention is given

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>77</sup> Gibbs, as quoted by Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System*, p. 175.

<sup>78</sup> Meare, as quoted by Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, p. 158.

him. There is no very clear differentiation between the shaman or medicine-man as physician and as priest, sorcerer, or magician. In some of the tribes the same individual exercises all of these functions. But in other tribes a shaman has several assistants, both male and female, and there is a considerable difference in rank among them, with a tendency toward institutionalization in the form of a school.

Their religious life indicates but a very meager development of personality. There are no clear ideas of deities with well-defined individualities or personal attributes. Their myths are concerned chiefly with stories of the totems or animal ancestors and certain preternatural agents, either animal or human, and there is a shifting back and forth from the one to the other, which shows that they, like most of the hunting tribes, draw no sharp distinction between animal and human consciousness but assign practically the same personal content to both.

Reference has been made<sup>79</sup> to the physical, mental, and moral superiority of the inland Columbians over the tribes of the coast. This superiority is not due to any difference in race or stock, but chiefly to the influence of occupations, and may be traced throughout their social organization. The widespread custom among primitive peoples of betrothal by the parents of the children while very young is practiced in some instances among these tribes, but there are also cases in which the wishes, not only of the young man, but also of the young woman, are consulted. Marriage by purchase, or rather by an exchange of gifts, is the usual form. Occasionally there is a marriage ceremony; "a Spokane suitor must consult both the chief and the young lady, as well as her parents." Descent is in the female line, though in some instances the influence of political leadership has been strong enough to break down this regulation and substitute descent in the male line in cases of the chieftainship. The child is named after some animal, the name being changed frequently in later life. Trade and property are fairly well advanced, some of the groups possessing a large amount of wealth, especially in horses. While they cannot be called a warlike people, they are brave war-

<sup>79</sup> See *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XII, p. 377.

riors when necessity for defense arises, and their more advanced tribes have carried on very successfully, campaigns both of aggression and defense.

War-chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war-chiefs, no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. . . . The regular inland chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.<sup>80</sup>

While, in general, it may be said that the development of voluntary activity and of personality is greater among the hunting peoples of the American race than of the Australian, and that their organization is more definite and coherent, yet relationships are still predominantly groupal. Ownership of the greater part of the property is communal. The individual Indian possesses very little property. Almost all wealth belongs to the clan, gens, or tribe. With the exception of the northwest-coast Indians, property plays but a small rôle in conferring honor or reputability upon the individual. The marriage relation has not advanced far toward individualization. Powell makes the generalization that marriage is by "prescription" or "legal appointment," and in this it resembles the condition in Australia, though there is a more marked tendency to "selection by personal choice" among the Indians. In some of the more highly developed tribes, as will be seen from the evidence cited, the chieftainship shows a consid-

<sup>80</sup> Bancroft, *loc. cit.*, pp. 275 ff.

erable advance in prerogatives and institutionalization over that of the Australians, and the council is a more deliberative body.

The education of the children is for the activities most necessary for the survival of the group, and is very practical. The groupal point of view measures the value of a man to the community in terms of his ability and skill as a hunter, fisherman, or warrior. Accordingly, the training of the boys must be for these activities, and all that pertains to efficiency in them is taught to the boys early in life. By the older men they are taught how to shoot, hunt, and fish, and through them they also learn the traditions of the tribe, its songs, love-stories, and tales of bravery in war. Through the mother and her sisters both the boys and girls receive their earliest education, and the girl's training, no less practical than that of the boy, is continued by the women of the gens or clan. She is taught how to do the many different kinds of work that fall to the lot of women, such as weaving, basketry, pottery, bread-making, tent-making, and the elements of the crude agriculture carried on by the women. Particular attention is given to the adolescent period in almost all the tribes, and it is especially a time for moral and religious instruction. It is observed by numerous ceremonies of sacred or religious character. At this time in many of the tribes the young man or woman was believed to come into direct communication with supernatural powers and to receive a personal guardian spirit that presided over his or her destiny in life. Self-control, self-denial, and endurance are taught, and obedience to the elders and all superiors is inculcated. The boys are under the tutorship of the old men, and the girls are instructed by the old women.

The functions of the medicine-men apparently are not more clearly differentiated from those of the priest than in Australia. The medicine-man owes his influence to actual or supposed control over certain crises entering into the life-process of the group, to his knowledge of the customs and traditions, to his leadership of secret societies, etc. His primary function is the cure of disease, either through knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs, etc., or through control of the spirits which are believed to cause illness. In general, they acquire their position through

personal merits, though in some cases it is hereditary, and there is a tendency toward institutionalization in the form of a secret society, caste, or sacerdotal order, as in the case of "The Midewiwin" or "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa.

A belief in good and evil spirits is widespread among the hunting tribes of America, but the best authorities upon their religious life all agree that the statement that they worship one "Great Spirit" is erroneous. Doubtless they had a certain vague idea of a so-called "Great Spirit," the result of contact with civilization and missionary influence, and imposed upon their cruder though indigenous forms of belief, but, like all such ideas, being purely external and exotic, and not a growth out of their own societary activity. The artificiality of such beliefs is evidenced everywhere in the fact that they answer as long as life is running smoothly, but in the face of a great crisis the people turn to their simpler, though to them more effective, beliefs. The concept of a Supreme Being, or of one overruling personal God, has not developed at this stage of association, and in the nature of the case could not exist before a more unified associate life was reached, with a higher development of personality, and with greater leaders whose personal qualities and attainments mark them off clearly from the other members of the group.

## VII. CONCLUSION

This survey of the hunting type of associating has brought under review several different steps in the evolution of leadership and institutions. Our general problem has been the method of control of the conditions of the life-process, in so far as that control is effected through association or the reciprocalities of living organisms. Our particular problem has been the evolution of leadership in relation to institutions as fundamental modal forms of societary control. It has been seen that in the most primitive associations control of the conditions upon which existence depends is largely instinctive or automatic; that the personal element plays a very meager rôle, and institutional life has scarcely begun. In the pre-matriarchal stage we find both leadership and institutions in their lowest terms. The simplicity of the life-process

does not lead to the development of any great personalities, or of the institutional forms which are the precipitate of the more personal and voluntary phases of social control, and which result from the more complex interactions of individuals and groups. Because of the close similarity of the occupations and the simplicity of both the infra-groupal and inter-groupal phases of the social process, there is no differentiation of the population into classes or castes, such as results in larger groups with more complicated and definitive interactions, and where there are strong stimuli to achievement of distinction and honor through the exercise of superior personal qualities in the solution of societary difficulties, in the acquisition of wealth, in wars, conquests, etc.

Under the maternal system, with organization on the basis of kinship through the female, the population of the groups is much larger than in the pre-matriarchal stage, interactions are more diverse and complex, and there is a greater differentiation of societary functions. The transition from the maternal to the paternal system is not abrupt, and often the two coexist in the same tribe or stock; it has, therefore, been best to consider them together. It has been seen that there are considerable differences in the development of leadership and institutions in the tribes which have been selected as typical of the hunting life. The fundamental fact determining the general nature of leadership and institutions among the hunting peoples is to be found in the characteristics of the hunting occupation, the different stages of growth being due to variations in race and temperament, and to local differences such as climate, contour of the country, food resources, contact with other groups, etc.

The general nature of the hunting activity has been touched upon, and it now remains to make some applications in relation to the data which have been considered.

The growth of both of the elements of social control under consideration—i. e., leadership or personal influence, and institutions—centers about the problems, crises, and emergencies entering the social process; and these difficulties, in turn, depend upon a large number of conditions, some of the more general of which are the size and stability of the group, the degree of com-

plexity of its activity, the definiteness of its organization, the nature of its food resources, its sedentary or nomadic character, and its relation to other groups. The hunting life, using the phrase now in its narrower sense as the dominant food occupation of a group, has its problems, the solution of which is as important as those of any other form of associate life. The difficulties which the leader of this type of associating is called upon to solve require extraordinary keenness of the senses, exceptional powers of physical strength and endurance, promptness of decision, superior ability in making motor co-ordinations, etc. There is a strong demand for the individual possessing some or all of these qualities in a larger degree than the other members of the group. The problems are such as require direct, immediate, personal adaptation of the social habits to the new conditions and the ends to be reached. The leaders, as we have seen, are always individuals of superior ability of the nature required to control the conditions of this type of association. In the more primitive groups old age is the most general requisite for eligibility to leadership, though it must always be accompanied by some kind of ability to give any real influence in the group. Another primary factor in conferring leadership is exceptional ability in control of the food supply, so that the great hunter, fisherman, or rain-maker always occupies a position of honor and influence in the group. The other leaders are the ablest warriors, the orators, medicine-men, wizards, wealthiest men, and those exceptionally well versed in the customs and traditions of the tribe.

If there is an urgent demand for leaders in the hunting life, and this demand is met by individuals of superior ability in solving the groupal problems, the question arises: Why in most cases is their influence only temporary and their authority very much limited as compared with the other types of associate life? The answer must be found in the nature of the hunting activity. In comparison with agricultural, pastoral, or manufacturing peoples, the hunting groups are usually much smaller and more unstable or nomadic. Their food resources are poorer and more precarious. Where a group is almost constantly changing its location, large accumulation of property is impracticable, if not

impossible. Descent is usually in the female line. The continuity of development which gives rise to the institution of private property, to agnatic descent, to the patriarchal household, and finally to the individual family, together with all the stimulating and inhibiting forces which inhere in this regularity of growth, is absent from the highly motor and unstable life of the hunting group. A roaming life makes all of their relationships more indefinite, unstable, and temporary, and this condition of affairs is extremely unfavorable to the growth of the organized and static phase of the social process, as represented, in particular, by institutions. Hence it is that the leadership which originates in connection with the problematic conditions that the hunting people must confront tends to be temporary, poorly defined, and meager, and to fail of institutionalization. Moreover, consciousness itself must partake of the nature of this instability, and the few permanent centers of interest and attention react upon the voluntary life of the group, and lessen the opportunities for the growth of personality and leadership. Under such conditions, the occasions for the individual to exercise much influence through control of the activities of others and through voluntary control of the various social interests are extremely limited, and the growth away from the more automatic, unconscious, and instinctive methods of control which characterize the associations of lower animals and, in a less degree, the more primitive human associations, is very slow.

However, there are the beginnings of personal and voluntary control and of institutions, and, in some of the cases cited under the maternal and paternal systems, leadership has made considerable advancement, so that, taking the situation as a whole among the hunting peoples it is possible to discover some of the principles upon which the evolution of leadership and institutions depends. One of the most important generalizations to be gained from the examination of the data relating to hunting groups is that every individual that attains a position of leadership in the group must do so by the performance of some function which the group considers of importance. The appearance of leaders and authoritative personages in the social process precedes the



organization of the institution. The institution proper begins in the stimulating and inhibiting influences that arise through the conscious direction of the social activity on the part of some superior individual or group of superior individuals. Association in its lowest terms has no established principle of inheritance by which an individual may acquire position, honor, or influence apart from personal merit. The leadership function must precede the leadership structure, and some form of voluntary activity, usually initiated and guided by the few, must precede that most important phase of social structure—the institutional.

Some of the more favorably located hunting groups show beginnings of institutionalization of almost all the elemental impulses and interests. In the expression of the political interest, in some instances, the principle of inheritance of rank and property is fairly well established in both the female and the male lines, inheritance by the former method usually preceding that by the latter. A number of important cases were cited in which the maternal system of descent has been superseded by the paternal system. This change has taken place usually where, through the presence of good food areas, groups are more sedentary, considerable property has been accumulated, and all their societary relations have become more complex, or where there is need of comparatively well-organized military activity for purposes of defense or aggression. Under such conditions, the activities arising out of the various social impulses begin to receive a more distinctively institutional mode of expression. This growth in size, complexity, and definiteness of social organization introduces more conflicting interests, the tensional elements are increased, and, therefore, the demand for leadership is stronger and more constant, and its reward is greater. Situations affording honor and profit to the individual possessing extraordinary courage, strength, endurance, ingenuity, skill, and experience are multiplied. The work of the leader receives the approval of the group; he is admired, honored, and praised, and, together with memory of his exceptional service to the group and the growing permanence of groupal relationships, his power and authority tend to become perpetual during his life. Through success in

controlling others, through social approval, and through his exalted position in the group, his own consciousness of superiority is intensified. The desire to extend the influence thus acquired beyond his life makes a strong force in the establishment of the principle of succession to official rank and property by inheritance. In general it may be said that political leadership in the prematernal, maternal, and paternal stages is the prerogative of the male. This is the direct result of the nature of the principal problematic conditions of primitive groups and of the difference in the metabolism of the sexes.<sup>81</sup> While female authority and leadership under the maternal system was at no time very great, the principle of descent through the mother was in direct opposition to the institutionalization of leadership in the paternal line. The son of the leader could not inherit the rank or property of his father. The sister's son acquired the position of leader wherever the principle of succession by inheritance had been established under the maternal system; or if the leader was chosen in some other way, the method was usually under the regulation of the same system. The increasing honor and wealth which fall to the lot of the leader with the growing complexity of society, and the concomitant development of his consciousness of strength and influence, create a stronger desire to extend this influence beyond the limits of his own life. His sense of kinship and of interest in his own children is increased by this desire, and there is created in him a strong opposition to the maternal system. It is in this way that political leadership comes to be one of the main forces in breaking down the maternal organization and originating the patriarchal organization, and the principle of succession to rank and wealth by inheritance in the male line—a principle or institution which has played and still continues to play an important rôle in social life.

The appearance of the council among hunting peoples has been noted. Its significance in control of societary phenomena is very great, and its more general relationship to leadership and institutions should receive our attention. It is doubtful if it

<sup>81</sup> Cf. W. I. Thomas, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. III, pp. 31 ff., 754 ff.

exists among the societies of the lower animals, where response to stimulus is more immediate, mandatory, and unreflective than among human beings. In the pre-maternal stage it may exist, though we have found no reference to it. In the maternal and paternal stages it is usually found, though in very different grades of development. Deliberation and discussion are among the most important functions in social life in the controlling of societary phenomena, and the level of social development is determined by the extent to which these reflective processes prevail in regulating the nature of response to stimuli. The composition of the council varies in different tribes, but it usually includes the leaders of the different interests of the group, such as the chiefs, the old men, the medicine-men, orators, warriors, sorcerers, etc. Its function in its best form is that of deliberation upon or discussion of the problems of the group. It is thus analogous to the reflective activities in the individual mind; it is the social organ of deliberation and choice. There are evidences that the council of the hunting tribes of North America, like all other forms of social life, has reached a higher stage of development than in Australia. In Australia it discusses societary difficulties, such as violation of custom, time for holding ceremonies, etc.; but the effort seems to be merely to determine the custom applying to the case in hand and to adhere closely to it; whereas with the Indians there is not merely adherence to custom, but a discussion of problematic conditions, with a direct purpose of adapting the customs to new situations and to changing them where it is deemed best. The council among the Indians is also a more distinctive and coherent organization than among the Australians. But in both races we find in the council the germs of the various kinds of deliberative bodies of more highly organized societies, the tracing of the evolution of which should be of great value to the science of sociology.

The relation of leadership to the punishment of crime has been discussed in various places in this investigation, and we give a brief summary of it here. The earliest forms of punishment are largely the expressions of the instinct of revenge, and partake of all the immediacy and unreflectiveness of instinctive

activity, issuing in the various forms of the blood-feud. Communal responsibility for crime and the punishment of any member of an offending group, whether the guilty one or not, is further evidence that the individual as such is not recognized, and that it is the result of the act, not the motive, that is considered. From the data relating to hunting peoples, we reach the conclusion that the headman or chief of the group is the first to introduce deliberative and inhibitive elements into the process of punishment. He acts as an arbitrator or judge in cases of quarrels, fights, and various forms of disputes, and determines the nature of the punishment for the violations of custom. In the more advanced groups he is assisted by the council in the performance of this important function. From these beginnings of a more rational control of the treatment of crime have evolved the highly deliberative functions of the judge and the judicial institutions of modern society.

Educational functions are not omitted among hunting peoples, as may be seen in particular from the study of the Australians and the North American Indians. Professor James says: "Our education means little more than a mass of possibilities of reaction, acquired, at home, at school, or in the training of affairs."<sup>82</sup> Among primitive as among civilized peoples this, too, is the purpose of education. The "mass of possibilities of reaction" which the child of primitive man needs to acquire is not so great as that of the child of civilized man, because the societary activity is not so complex; but even the most primitive group has acquired certain habits of supplying its wants, and these organized ways of reacting to the environment must be learned by the child. His first teacher is his mother and her sisters, tribal or blood. Steinmetz,<sup>83</sup> who has made a careful study of the relation between parents and children among primitive peoples, reaches the conclusion that in general the parents are very kind and affectionate to their children, often spoiling them through overindulgence. Especially is this love for the children

<sup>82</sup> *Talks on Psychology and Life's Ideals*, p. 38.

<sup>83</sup> *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, Vol. I, p. 607; also *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, Vol. II, pp. 177 ff.

and lack of punishment found among the hunting peoples, though there are examples of strict discipline. Education is not methodical and continues for but a brief time. To this conclusion of Steinmetz we may add that the boys are trained in the habits of hunting and warfare, and the girls in woman's work, and both are taught the traditions and customs of the group. Institutionalization of educational functions has not proceeded far, and there are no schools in the modern sense, the nearest approach to them being the initiation ceremonies, which sometimes continue for three or four months.

Under the pre-matriarchal system, marriage is often monogamic and for this reason some authorities have compared it favorably with the monogamous unions of civilized society, but there is a vast difference between the two systems. Marriage in the pre-maternal stage is temporary, and with the simple, nomadic life of this period there is but little advance over the instinctive form of monogamy in animal societies. The small degree of definiteness and coherency in the marriage relation under this system makes it scarcely possible to speak of the family as an institution. In the transition from this most primitive form of the family to the more individualized form of civilized society there are several important steps, some of which, so far as they are conditioned by the function of leadership, have been discussed. Under the maternal system and, to a less degree, under the paternal system, in hunting life, the whole group is the unit, not the individual or the family. Control of societary conditions is largely through communal activities; but little privilege is given to the individual; he manifests or expresses himself through voluntary activity only in a small degree; he does not select his companion or companions in marriage; they are assigned or allotted to him. However, marriage is not promiscuous, but is rigidly regulated by custom and the few who interpret custom. Of course, there is always a tendency toward the exercise of choice on the part of those most immediately concerned in the marriage relation, and this tendency increases with the growth of society; but at first this voluntary activity is greatly circumscribed by custom and the influence of the elders. Perhaps the

phrase giving the best expression of this stage in the marriage relation is that it is a "modified form of group-marriage."<sup>84</sup>

The same dominancy of groupal regulation is manifested in the expression of the property interests. The individual has control over a small amount of property in movable articles in which there is some opportunity for self-expression, but the control over the land among hunting peoples is communal. With the exception of the northwest coast tribes of North America property among hunting peoples has a very small influence in conferring distinction and leadership upon the individual.

The intimate relation of the leadership function to religious phenomena has been noted as it appears in the different stages of the hunting life, and it has been seen that even among the most primitive hordes there is a belief in the influence of preternatural beings who may help or hinder individuals or groups in the attainment of social values. In the pre-maternal stage this belief does not extend beyond a very vague idea of good and bad spirits. Under the maternal and paternal systems there is a growth in the clearness of ideas of deities, but the concept of a Supreme Being with clearly defined personal attributes has not developed. The mythology shows more or less definite and clear ideas of certain earthly leaders who were the founders of their customs, or were believed to have been, and who taught them various useful arts. Everywhere the clearness of the concept of the deities or preternatural leaders is in direct proportion to the degree of development of leadership and authoritative personages with definitely recognized prerogatives and superior personal attributes that make them stand out clearly from the other members of the group. Most hunting groups seem to make no clear distinction in the qualities assigned to persons, animals, and things, and in their religious beliefs there is strong evidence that the development of the consciousness of self has not progressed very far.

Taking the social process as a whole in relation to leadership and institutions, it may be said that in most primitive expressions of associate life, where the interactions of organisms are under

<sup>84</sup> See *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XII, p. 390.

control of instincts and unconscious customs, there is but little opportunity for the development of leadership, personality, and institutional life. This is most clearly manifested in the societies of the lower animals, where control of societary phenomena most nearly approaches the automatic or mechanical form. In the most primitive human associations instinctive activity still predominates, though modified by custom. However, custom at this stage is very rigid, and ends and aims are few, and the means for attaining them are very inflexible and unadaptive. But with better food resources, and the consequent increase of the population and complexity of social conditions, the problems entering into societary life increase in number and difficulty, and there is a greater demand for individuals of superior ability. Division of labor follows, a few individuals through marked ability obtain positions of influence and authority in the tribe, and these privileges they endeavor to perpetuate during their life, and to extend to their children and friends. Institutionalization of the prerogatives gained takes place, and classes and castes begin to emerge. These institutional forms increase in strength, and may finally lose in plasticity until they become almost as inflexible as instincts and customs, and a social organization, of which the classical illustration is China, results. Or, on the other hand, the power of one or a few individuals may continue to grow until an absolute despotism or an oligarchy is formed. Between these two extremes of control by one individual or by a few individuals, and control by instincts, customs, or very inflexible institutions, such as castes, the social process presents numerous varieties of relationship between these two forms of the organized and organizing phases of associate life. In the hunting life there are but few groups in which there is any intimation of the exercise of absolute authority by one individual, authority in general being very meager and temporary. On the side of social structure, the control of instinct and custom frequently reaches extreme proportions, but, with very few exceptions, the social structure which we have called institutional has not attained any marked development. The tracing of the evolution of the relation of these two forms of societary control, as they are expressed in pastoral, agri-

cultural, manufacturing, and commercial types of life, should give a better insight into the causes of the dominancy, at times, of one or the other of these phases of social control, and the consequent injury to the whole social process. Such a study should also help greatly in gaining a better insight into all the laws of growth of these two highly important factors in the determination of social welfare.

This investigation of hunting groups has shown that the development of both leadership and institutions has centered about the problems and crises entering into the social process. All social changes, whether a progressive or regressive character, originate in stimuli, creating tensions in the social process and demanding adaptive activities. In these adjustive processes the leader finds his chief function. In the adaptive processes there are various degrees of failure and success, but if the group is to survive, the successful activities must predominate. The long period of existence of hunting peoples, far outreaching that of any other type of associate life, proves that they were able to adapt themselves to their native conditions. But contact with civilized societies introduced problems and disturbances too great for the leaders of primitive man to cope with, and, however friendly might be the attitude of the newcomers toward the native, universal experience has taught that he has been unable to adjust himself to the more complex organization, that the tension has been too great, and that he has broken down under it. Though the hunting groups have all but disappeared from the earth, the hunting impulses still exist in us all and seek expression in the more complex organization under which we live.

Another conclusion of importance in relation to some of the most difficult problems of modern life may be drawn from this discussion. The popular belief in the ideal freedom and perfect democracy of primitive man has no basis in fact. There is little freedom in the mechanical response to stimuli, as represented in instinct or unanalyzed custom. Freedom, in the largest degree, is the result of the control of life-conditions through the reflective or rational processes and of these primitive society knows but the beginnings. Moreover, the dominance of communal or groupal



activities does not mean the existence of a perfect democracy; for such a method of control of life-conditions affords only the most meager opportunities for the development of personality through the part which each individual plays in the social process, and without the consciousness of self which arises because of the rights and responsibilities which belong to each individual in the group, there can be no democracy. The emergence of the individual from the group, or the individualizing of the individual, is a slow growth. Democracy is a late development in associate life. The conferring of privileges and responsibilities begins with the few and gradually extends to the many. That the opportunities of civilized man for self-expression in all of the interests of life have increased greatly beyond those of the hunting man would hardly be questioned by anyone who had carefully reviewed the evidence afforded by ethnology, but many of the steps by which that position has been attained have not been worked out. That a true democracy in the expression of all life's interests has been reached even in the most advanced societies would probably not be asserted by anyone acquainted with the facts, but the ideal exists as a stimulus, and injustice in various forms furnishes still stronger stimuli toward efforts to attain the ideal. An enlightened method for the attainment of the ideal and of the ideals that continue to evolve is the great desideratum, and depends upon the acquisition of a knowledge of the laws of associate life.